

Communism and World Missions

The Growth of Communism in China Culminating in the Present
Conflict and How It is Effecting the Missions

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"AND WHEN THE THOUSAND
YEARS ARE FINISHED, SATAN
WILL BE RELEASED FROM HIS
PRISON: AND WILL GO FORTH
AND DECEIVE THE NATIONS
WHICH ARE IN THE FOUR
CORNERS OF THE EARTH, AND
WILL GATHER THEM TOGETHER
FOR THE BATTLE"



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1.

The Attack on the Missions

1. Communism waxed strong in mission lands because it claimed to lead the fight against imperialism. The colonial or semi-colonial peoples¹ who chafed under foreign political or economic domination were ready to accept guidance from those who sympathized with their plight and fought their battles. They hoped to dismiss Communists after having used them. Now, to a Communist, imperialism means something very definite. It is the last stage of capitalism, the supreme exploitation of man by man, the last moment of capitalist chaos before the dictatorship of the proletariat. That is what Communists mean, and what fellow-travelers who aid them do not realize. According to Lenin, imperialism entails the five following characteristics:

1. The concentration of production and capital developed to such a stage that it creates monopolies which play a decisive role in economic life.

2. The merging of bank capital with industrial capital, and the creation, on the basis of "finance capital" of a financial oligarchy.

3. The export of capital, which has become extremely important, as distinguished from the export of commodities.

4. The formation of international capitalist monopolies which share the world among themselves.

5. The territorial division of the whole world among the greatest capitalist powers is completed.

Imperialism is capitalism in that stage of development in which the domination of monopolies and finance capital has established itself; in which the export of capital has acquired pronounced importance; in which the division of the world among the international trusts has begun; in which the partition of all the territories

1. In Communist parlance, a colony is a territory totally dependent, politically and economically, on the home country; a semi-colony is a territory politically independent, economically dependent on another country or countries; thus Latin America is considered a semi-colony of the United States, except for the Argentine Republic which was considered, until recently, a semi-colony of England. China was a semi-colony of England, the United States and of several other "imperialist" countries.

of the globe among the great capitalist powers has been completed. ("Imperialism, The Highest Stage of Capitalism." Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. V, p. 81).

2. The Communist, therefore, is not directly interested in emancipating colonies or semi-colonies from *political foreign* hegemony. He wishes to break down the capitalist system as such. He is willing to ally himself to the small bourgeoisie of colonial countries, in order to crush the bigger enemy: foreign imperialism. Later he will easily dispose of local nationalism.

3. The more effectively communism adopts the grievances of colonial peoples against their foreign rulers or exploiters, the greater becomes its mass appeal. It interests not only the colonial or semi-colonial peoples, but all liberals who believe, academically or otherwise, in self-determination for all nations, especially for the colonies of other people! It should be observed that many liberals give less thought to economic domination than to political rule. Thus, some Americans who voiced—perhaps legitimately, we are not arguing the point—loud protests against European imperialism in Asia, or for that matter in Central or South America, did not realize that they gave Communists arguments for anti-American propaganda in Latin America. The Communist message also carries weight with those who feel that wars are caused by money, fought over markets, for the sake of a handful of international money-sharks, who pull the hidden strings that move political puppets. Such people will be strongly swayed by arguments like the following: Why should we go and get killed, because so and so is losing money in China or Indonesia?

4. Missions are established almost exclusively in colonies or semi-colonies. The missionary must identify himself with those to whom he wishes to bring Christ, become Chinese with the Chinese, African with the Africans, etc. If in a colony, he cannot enter into the political grievances of the natives without being expelled by the colonial authorities as an undesirable agent of disorder, especially if he is an alien as the case often is. His Superiors could never defend him against the pressure that would be brought up against him, at his tiniest slip. Therefore, he collaborates at least passively with the foreigner, and may become, on that account, the victim of xenophobia.

5. Nor can he champion the economic grievances of the natives in semi-colonies without highly offending the financial interests who exploit them, and wield far greater political pressure than in their home

countries, where they are successfully opposed by the press, powerful labor unions, etc. At home, the Church exercises a far-reaching influence in social matters through the organized study of the social Encyclicals. In mission lands priests must be far more careful if they do not wish to bring in jeopardy the very existence of their missions.

6. Thus, it came to pass that the social and political leadership of the dissatisfied multitudes (in colonial and sometimes in semi-colonial countries this was generally an overwhelming majority) fell largely into the hands of the conspiring, underground, illegal agitator. This became all the more dangerous, because many of the grievances were legitimate, and also because Communists who showed pluck in denouncing them were hailed in the home country for "courage" by the very people who would never have tolerated the mildest observation from a churchman. Such is one of the most amazing paradoxes of modern times.

7. If the Church's function is merely to organize liturgical offices, preach mild sermons, encourage the downtrodden to patience and obedience, and extol the divine authority of the exploiter, if it is not to preach justice and condemn iniquity, then the latter role will necessarily be assumed by the Church's enemies, who will appear clothed with the majesty of justice and the tenderness of mercy. Then, the charitable activities of the Church, orphan asylums, dispensaries, feeding stations, schools, hospitals, risk to be engulfed in the huge revolutionary wave, born of local discontent, and fostered from abroad by international revolutionaries. This was brought home to us very strongly some fifteen years ago. A missionary in Indo-China (today Viet Nam) had written a book about his missionary experiences. He occasionally referred to maladministration, such as political profiteering from opium, or abuses in business, such as drafting forced labor for distant plantations. He was advised not to publish his book, because the interests criticized could have done great harm to the mission. Shortly after, a "fellow-traveler" of the Communist party, who had her trip paid for by the French Government and traveled in the retinue of a Government Minister wrote a devastating book where she really did a job on the colonial administration, capitalists, and so forth. The book became a best-seller and every one applauded!

8. Now, this anti-imperialism is not a side issue. It is the very core of communism insofar as it is opposed to international socialism. This is generally overlooked by those who consider communism merely as a more violent type of labor agitation. In communist world-strategy,

labor organization, strikes and riots are a means to a far greater end, namely, the overthrow of organized government, of every bourgeoisie government, and the establishment of the "dictatorship of the proletariat" (today, this means Russian hegemony) throughout the world. While labor troubles disrupt capitalist economy at home, colonial unrest strikes at the source of raw materials, disorganizes the markets, brings large territories under Communist influence or control, gradually isolates capitalist countries, extends civil war, renders civil war in non-Communist countries difficult to avoid. In Lenin's days, world revolution was more emphasized than today, because communism was then more outspoken. It has forged fantastically ahead—though communism became an imperialism all its own—during the Stalin era. To get a clear picture, it may be useful to retrace the origins of the Third International, or Comintern.

9. The Third, or Communist International, is a by-product of the first world war. World socialism, then organized in the Second International, became acutely interested in war and peace at its congress of Stuttgart (1907), for it feared then that "the essence of capitalism is to produce war." At that time, the Russian Socialist party, to which Lenin and his friends belonged, was a rather insignificant part of the International. It had failed in the attempt to revolutionize Russia (1905), and had temporarily healed the breach between its Bolshevik and Menshevik factions.² As the war clouds gathered, especially in the Balkans, an extraordinary Congress of the Second International met at Basel, Switzerland, to unite world socialism against war (November 24, 1912). In mid-July, 1914 the French Socialist Congress voted, 1,690 against 1,174 to call a general strike in case of war. Shortly after, the International Bureau of the International met at Brussels (20-29 July), voted a strongly worded resolution against war and organized mass demonstrations. On July 31, in almost every country, labor unions sent telegrams of protest against imminent war. War was declared on August 1, and almost at once engulfed the greater part of Europe and Europe's colonies. A few days later, *all* the Socialist members of Parliament voted the war budgets of their respective countries. Even the famous Karl Liebknecht, who

2. Bolshevism stood for a highly centralized party, no collaboration with the bourgeoisie except on socialist terms, the use of every means, including violence, to achieve revolution; Menshevism meant legal political or social organization, democracy within the party, collaboration with the bourgeoisie in order to achieve reform.

was to become a founder of German communism and, with Rosa Luxemburg, its most famous "martyr," voted with the rest of the Reichstag on August 4, 1914. It was only four months later (December 2, 1914) that he went, alone, into opposition.

10. This was called by Lenin the *krach* or breakdown of socialism. He saw that international socialism had missed the chance for world revolution. In March, 1915 he brought together a few Russian émigrés at Bern, Switzerland, to elaborate the new strategy:

"The essence of the present war is a fight between England, France and Germany over the division of colonies and the plunder of competing countries, and the attempt on the part of tsarism and the ruling classes of Russia to seize Persia, Mongolia, Turkey in Asia, Constantinople, Galicia, and so forth. . . . The whole of the economic and diplomatic history of the last decades proves that both groups of belligerent nations have systematically prepared for precisely such a war." ("Conference of the Sections of the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party Abroad." *Selected Works*, Vol. V, p. 132).

11. He decided that there could never be peace as long as empires and colonies were to subsist. He coined the slogan, *Transform the imperialist war into civil war*. The first task of the revolutionary parties, which did not yet exist, but which he was going to create, was to overthrow their own governments. "*A revolutionary class in a reactionary war cannot but desire the defeat of its own government.*" Two years before Tsarism fell, Lenin was already working on his new International, to be founded only in 1919. The fundamental book of the yet unborn Comintern was written in the spring of 1916. It is, *Imperialism, The Latest Stage in the Development of Capitalism*.

12. The relation between empires, colonies, revolution, war and civil war must be kept in mind. *War time is harvest time for communism*. It has proved almost impossible for a Communist revolution to succeed except in time of war.

13. Lenin saw himself not so much as a powerful labor leader, who marshalled the Russian proletariat to the assault of the Winter Palace or the Kremlin. That was to be only an episode. He was the giant leader of mankind, the father, ruler and lawgiver of all nations, races and peoples. He would show them the way to the overthrow of every capitalist government, of every empire. A new messiah, a new redeemer, who led the downtrodden proletariat of the world to the new

and everlasting classless society. That was what he claimed to be and to do. How this would appeal to the numberless poor people, deprived by modern Godless education of their faith, scandalized by too many "missionaries" whom they rightly or wrongly considered as the foreign emissaries of political or financial empire, we leave to the reader to decide. The most fantastic aspect of Lenin's wild dream is that he really did call it into being. He saw the end to achieve. He visualized the means to accomplish that which he wanted: a new world, from which God and religion would be simply crowded out, because there would be no room for them.

14. He was indeed a materialist. More than that he hated God, he despised belief in God. His grievance against religion was that it was silly, and especially that it deterred the proletariat from action. If religion did not hinder the edification of socialism, he was willing to tolerate and even use it! His conception of the world left no room for a real religion, a real God. Curiously enough, he could only accept a religion that *would be* an opiate, a drug, a handmaid of civil power, of *his* civil power! He might admit, even if he thought it stupid, a Soviet Orthodox Church for the same reason that he had hated the Tsarist Orthodox Church. There was no place whatsoever in his mind and in his world for the Catholic Church.

15. That was because Soviet communism transcends politics. Its unseen realities are more important than what appears on the surface. When in March, 1919 the Comintern was created, the great Russian empire had dwindled to the proportions of 13th century Muscovy. It was surrounded by the White-Russian armies of Denikin, Yudenich, Kolchak, and the expeditionary forces sent to Russia under the restless harrowing of Churchill, by the victorious Entente. Disorder and maladministration brought about the universal breakdown, that Hoover's magnificent American Relief Administration barely stopped from becoming one of the greatest of catastrophies in human history. Yet, this accumulation of disasters was scarcely noticed by the handful of madmen who orated at the Kremlin and gambled so outrageously with the lives of their fellow-citizens. They ignored the tottering Soviet Union, barely kept alive by American aid, and saw revolution spreading over the world. They saw that the outside world opposed to them only political measures, and that these political measures could not stem the awful tide. They concluded that, between the factions that tore their enemies asunder, triumphant Revolution was forging ahead.

16. Now, when a group of men surrounded by foes see clearly their way not only to victory over the immediate enemy but to world conquest, they must be taken very seriously. To their over-all plan must be opposed, by an adequate force, another and better over-all plan. Whether this blueprint of world strategy against universal civil war ever existed or not, we don't know. Nothing that we have seen yet seems to suggest that it did, or does. So far, we have seen no evidence thereof. All resistance to world communism has been local, fragmentary, piecemeal, contradictory, therefore to a great extent self-destructive. Lenin often said that capitalism's inward contradictions were communism's biggest strength. That is what he and his successor so successfully gambled on. That seems to furnish proof that politics alone have not given and cannot give an adequate answer to communism.

17. The first Congress of the Comintern (March, 1919) clearly named the enemy to be overthrown: not capitalism as such, but capitalist governments or empires. The agents of this destruction were the Communist parties to be founded at a later date, together with the "masses" that were to be brought under Communist leadership by means of the Soviet. One of the most important battles had to be fought in the colonies or semi-colonies themselves. The general policies were established by the Comintern; the men to carry them out were formed at special schools created for that purpose in Soviet Russia and abroad.

18. The first Congress of the Comintern was composed of some thirty-four delegates, most of whom were Soviet citizens; the rest were stragglers or deserters who happened to be in Russia at the time. The following year (1920) in spite of civil war, famine, immense passport trouble, police repression almost everywhere, there were 169 delegates and 49 substitutes from 36 nations, including Indonesia, Korea, Mexico, Persia, India, Australia, China. They decided that Communists from imperial countries had to aid the insurrection in their own colonies. An English delegate, Tom Quelch, remarked that English labor would consider this as treason. Lenin snapped back that British labor had betrayed the world proletariat. A long resolution on colonies was worded partially as follows:

All Communist parties must show effective aid to the revolutionary movements in those countries; the form of this assistance must be discussed with the Communist parties of the given countries, wherever those have been established. In the first place, the obliga-

tion to show the most effective assistance rests primarily on the workmen of the country from which the other depends politically or economically.

It is necessary to fight the reactionary, medieval influence of clergy, Christian missions, and other such elements.

It is necessary to fight Pan Islamism, Pan Asiaticism and other such tendencies which aim to coordinate the fight against European or American imperialism, in order to give strength to Japanese or Turkish imperialism, or to the nobility, the landowners, the clergy, etc.

19. Nothing was said of Pan Slavism! Of far greater importance for the work in colonies and semi-colonies was the 6th Congress of the Comintern when, for the last time, Communists were outspoken. After 1928, Stalin's cautiousness baffled not only the faithful in the USSR, who had a difficult time getting their orthodoxy straight before, during, and after each party purge, but those in other countries as well, who tried so earnestly to follow the manifold variations of the party line. Yet, there is remarkable continuity—Communist, not bourgeois continuity—in the acrobatics that bewildered the stolid and dumb Western observers. In fact, when one reads the reports made in 1928 by Kuusinen and Ercoli-Togliatti on revolution in colonies, the one on anti-imperialism by Bell, which were the chief speeches of the Congress, one is amazed to see how the strategy then elaborated seems to be sufficient cause for the great successes achieved by world communism in later years. Also, one sees the iron logic that guided communism through its infinite variations. Indeed, after one grasped the principles that underlie Soviet strategy, the tactical variations scarcely need an explanation.

20. Directives are useless, unless you have capable men to carry them out. It would be interesting to have adequate data on the schools established in Soviet Russia and abroad to train professional revolutionaries. In his recent book, *The Whole of Their Lives* (New York, 1948), Ben Gitlow mentions several of them: the Lenin University, which prepared top-flight Communist leaders; the Far Eastern University and the Sun Yat Sen University, with their 5,000 students, are called by him "the miniature Chinese West Point." According to the same source, the Frunze Military Academy, which is the best military school in the Soviet Union, has about 30 per cent foreign students. A large university at Tiflis takes care of the Near and Middle East. A new Lenin University was to be built at Moscow shortly before the last

war to accommodate some 10,000 students and turn out three to four thousand graduates each year. All this without mentioning the O.G.P.U. schools about which extremely little is known. In the ten years that preceded the war, "over 100,000 students had been graduated from the communist universities, schools and academies in the Soviet Union and had been integrated in the frame work of the O.G.P.U." (Gitlow, p. 241).

21. We are not in a position to check on this information. We know that when Tito broke away from the Cominform, 336 Yugoslav students who were studying at the military academies in the USSR wrote to *Pravda* to protest his action. The number may seem small. Yugoslavia was a small country. Tito was supposed to be a trustworthy pillar of the new regime, since the Cominform had Belgrade for its capital. Indeed, these 336 military students make Gitlow's statistics, spread over the world and ten years, look puny.

22. Besides, Communists organized their own schools and training centers in almost every country where they operated, that is, everywhere! Thus, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek and his best generals graduated from a Russian managed Communist military academy in China (directed by the famed Marshall Blucher). Whenever investigations are conducted and a report thereof is printed, there always is a large chapter about Communist legal or illegal schools. Training is also received in action. The International Brigades of the Spanish war prepared capable leaders for guerilla warfare in many countries. The Labor Brigades packed off by Canadian or American Communists to Central Europe were attractive and efficient summer-schools for agitation and propaganda. Communist leaders are well trained men; the rank and file of the party can capably direct large groups. People are slowly beginning to realize that world-communism is not an aggregate of individuals, but a very powerful machine, designed with consummate skill, carefully governed and serviced by remarkably trained international men who sacrifice themselves to the cause with a martyr's devotedness and the vision of a brilliant fanatic. The recent espionage trials in Canada and the United States seem to have established that Communists had placed able men wherever it was worth while having them. Much of China's misfortunes are traceable to Teheran and Yalta. We realize now who President Roosevelt's chief adviser was! Many, many years ago Pope Pius XI forbade collaboration with communism. Those who throw themselves headlong in the steel jaws of the machine,

hoping to swing it to better sentiments, are not only mad; their folly is criminal, because it springs from a pride which is so big that it blinds them as to their limitations.

23. Now, the next step would be to study how the tactics elaborated by the Comintern were applied by the Comintern-trained men. This would take a book, and a dull one at that, except for the specialist—unless it is written up dramatically like Valtin's *Out of the Night!* We shall limit our enquiries to China.³

2.

The Red Conquest of China

24. Fellow travelers often say that Chinese communism differs from the Soviet brand because it is agrarian and not industrial. Therefore, China's Mao Tze-tung will soon rebel like Tito! This is nonsense! Whatever may happen tomorrow is anybody's guess, but if Chinese communism is agrarian, it is because as far back as 1926, the Kremlin wished it to be so. All the Comintern's instructions to China stressed that point. As to Mao Tze-tung, he is a charter member of the Chinese Communist Party (1921) and a high official of the Comintern ever since. He may be liquidated because such is the fate of every Red leader who has outlasted his usefulness, and his chief task is over. He surrendered China to Russia. A tremendous personality was needed for the task. What is now required is mostly pliancy and adaptability. Can Mao Tze-tung step down to the role of a major or minor *gauleiter*? Moscow, who studied Tito's rebellion with the greatest care will do its best to keep China in the fold. At any rate, another and rather obscure member of the Chinese Politburo, Liu Shao-tsi, has received great prominence of late in *Pravda*. In fact, it is of such nature as to drape

3. Americans should know, for instance, how supremely violent is the Communist propaganda of the whole world, now beamed on them. The recent article of the Chinese Liu Shao-tsi on Internationalism and Nationalism, which fixes the line for the future, is very much worth reading on that account.

his shoulders in some of Stalin's own majesty. Liu Shao-tsi is a rising star!

25. Communism swept China at the call of Sun Yat-sen who had founded at Canton the national revolutionary party of the Kuomintang to fight Peking. He needed aid. Moscow was willing to give it in the form of money, war material, and military advisers. Among the latter were Borodin and especially Galen (Marshal Blucher) who built up a powerful army. The tiny Chinese Communist party received a free hand within the Kuomintang whilst keeping its autonomy. When Sun Yat-sen died (March 12, 1925) the IKKI⁴ wrote:

Comrades, the importance of Sun Yat-sen, fighter, organizer and commander of China's revolutionary troops, tireless champion of the people against the forces of reaction in the country is enormous indeed. He deeply swayed the revolutionary movement of the proletariat of the East and of the world. He was not a Communist, but he realized that colonial peoples had to fight in coordination with the world proletariat.

26. In 1923 the Chinese Communist party scarcely numbered a thousand men, but the Chinese civil war cradled it so beautifully that by 1926 the right wing of the Kuomintang requested the exclusion of the growing giant. The Reds remained where they were, and at the second Congress of the Kuomintang (1926), it was the right wing that was pushed out.

27. On March 20, 1926 Chiang Kai-shek broke away from the Communists for the first time. Soviet diplomacy, who knew the worth of Marshal Blucher's most brilliant disciple, cajoled him back for a short time, but by the spring of 1927, hapless China was carved in three different pieces: at Nanking ruled Chiang Kai-shek who had cleaned Shanghai from Communists. Wuhan was the stronghold of what was left of the Kuomintang, who had belatedly expelled the Communists too. In the North, Chiang Tso-ling governed the best he knew how from Peking. Moscow excommunicated Chiang Kai-shek, but still hoped to keep its hold on the Kuomintang. On July 14, 1927 *Pravda* published the following decree:

1. The Chinese Communists must leave at once, and with the greatest publicity, the Government of Wuhan.

2. When leaving the Government, they shall publish a manifesto stating that they do so because of Wuhan's hostility to workers and peasants. They shall request immediate punishment

4. Executive Committee of the Communist International.

of all who committed acts of violence against workers and peasants, and they shall unmask the entire political conduct of the Government.

3. They shall remain in the Kuomintang in spite of the campaign carried on to drive them out. They must keep the contact with the masses. They must see that the masses protest against the Central Committee of the Kuomintang, request that the direction of the party be changed, and that a convention of the party be called.

4. They shall intensify in every manner their work among the proletarian masses, in labor unions; they shall prepare the masses to aggression, they shall be the leaders of the proletariat.

5. They must spread the agrarian revolution, continue the fight for a people's revolution by the intervention of a coalition of workers, peasants and farmhands under the leadership of the proletariat. They must systematically arm peasants and workers.

6. In view of repressions and executions, they shall create an underground organization of the party.

28. These were bold words for a handful of trouble-makers who had been driven out of every position they had captured; they constituted the party line, i.e., definite instructions to be literally carried out. Working with their ordinary reckless zeal, the Communists prepared a military putsch at Nanchang (July 31-Aug. 7, 1927). Beaten, they lit up revolution all over China. The famous Commune of Canton, which lasted forty-eight hours, and where repression entailed the death of some 4,000 insurgents, was its highest point. Reacting to those awful events, China found unity. In fact, if not *de jure*, Chiang Kai-shek was its leader. He cleaned out the Russian consulate of Canton, heavily implicated in the bloodshed. Thus, the first period of the Chinese revolution ended with a military debacle of communism. The party survived. It had been tried by fire. Not only that, it had been demonstrated that the operation left intact the source of the cancer. At once, without stopping an instant to lick its wounds, Chinese communism was right into the fray once more.

29. In the meantime, important events had taken place in the USSR. Stalin had finally eliminated his enemies and achieved total power. The resolution passed by the IKKI for China reflects the cautiousness of the new leadership:

An energetic fight must be made against the tendency of *putschism* which prevails in certain sections of the working class; this tendency consists in making ill-prepared and ill-organized attacks on cities and rural sectors. This is playing at insurrection.

Now, to play at insurrection instead of organizing massive insurrections of workers and peasants is the best way to choke revolution.

30. Shortly after, the Sixth Congress of the Comintern (July 17-Sept. 1, 1928) elaborated its famous theses on revolution in colonial and semi-colonial countries. Moscow, moreover, guided the Chinese party with periodical letters. The same slogans always occur: fight against ill-prepared insurrections; work energetically to capture the rural masses (see especially the letter of June, 1929); organize the workers in illegal unions while agitating *within* the yellow unions of the Kuomintang; create strong groups among students and women.

31. The Sixth Congress established also an Oriental secretariat, which was subdivided in 1929 into a Bureau for the Near East and a Bureau for the Far East. The latter was established at Shanghai and began to operate at the beginning of 1930. Since April, 1928 Kou Cheng-chang, a member of the Chinese Communist Politburo, created the first branch of the Chinese GPU at Shanghai. In 1930 another was organized at the Central Orgburo of the sovietized districts. When, in 1931, the central Orgburo became the Provisional Government, its branch of the GPU became the OGPU, with jurisdiction over the entire Chinese GPU and party.

32. Chiang Kai-shek unified South China in the summer of 1929. Then he marched against the Northern generals Fong Yu-siang and Yen Si-chan, who rallied to him. With them, he occupied ancient Peking, whose war lord, Chang Tso-ling ran away, and was killed; his son Chang Sue-liang wooed Chiang Kai-shek's favor. Thus, Chiang Kai-shek outwardly unified China.

33. On the other hand, the Red leaders Mao Tze-tung and Ho-lung were forming a growing nuclei of partisans who harried large districts in Kwantung, Kiangsi, Hunan, Hupeh, Fukien, Anhwei.⁵ At first little discernible from the bands of brigands that were marauding all over the country, they gradually learned military discipline. The Comintern guided solicitously the early steps of the incipient Chinese Red army:

They must arm the peasants by disarming the regular troops. Whenever Soviets can be established, the land must be collectivized, and the peasants armed. There must be better cooperation

5. The kidnapping of the two Spanish Jesuits, Avito Gutierrez, and Zacharias Hidalgo made the headlines of the Catholic press. Father Hidalgo eventually escaped. Not so Father Avito, who died in captivity.

between the partisan incursions in Kwantung, Fukien, Hunan, and Hupeh. The party must remain strongly centralized, disciplined, monolithic (December, 1929).

34. By 1930 the Chinese Red army had some 62,000 men; in September, 1932 they numbered 200,000; in December, 1933 Soviet sources spoke of 350,000 Chinese Red soldiers.

35. On November 7, 1931 the first General Congress of the Chinese Soviet convened at Yuikin (Kiangsi), then capital of Red China. A "Provisional Government" was "elected": Mao Tze-tung (Premier), Sian-in and Chang Ko-tao (vice-presidents), Chu-te (president of Army soviets); Ten Chi-hui (finance); Tsu Tsu-wu (Education), Chow En-lai (vice-president of army soviet), Van Tsa-san (Foreign Affairs), Chan Tin-cheng (agriculture).

36. The Soviet constitution proclaimed a "democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and of the peasantry" whose purpose was to annihilate "every trace of feudalism, every remainder of imperialism in China" and to unify the country. The lands of "feudal lords, estate owners, war lords, tukhao, nobles and monasteries" were simply confiscated. Kulaks could receive "a little land, of the poorest quality, provided they worked it with their own hands." The repartition of the land had to be achieved through the cooperation of peasants' committees. . . . Moscow soon boasted that some 550,000 square kilometers with 50 to 60 million inhabitants had been sovietized. 3,000 elementary schools were educating the new generation. Thus, the Red army, in obedience to the Comintern, was setting up a Soviet China against China, all in the name of Chinese unity.

37. From November, 1930 to 1936, Chiang Kai-shek fought the Communists. His first five campaigns gathered the Red armies in Kiangsi. Then, in September, 1933, advised by the German von Seeckt, he began his sixth campaign which was to last fourteen months. The Communists soon realized they had to withdraw. The first divisions evacuated Kiangsi in the summer of 1934. In November Mao Tze-tung led the main Red army through an odyssey of anywhere from 1,200 to 3,000 miles (Communist writers mention various distances), always running away from a decisive battle. In June, 1935 he was far away in the Szechwan. Chiang mobilized fifty divisions, came, and ferreted him out of there. Mao Tze-tung retreated once more, and finally established himself in the Kansun. A little everywhere, small bands of partisans were left who operated like brigands, disappeared underground and waited their chance. Mao Tze-tung's main army,

though beaten, had gained practice both in battle and government. In the fastnesses of Kansun, they could regroup and wait. As to Chiang Kai-shek, he had unified China and pacified it. In fact, these two things, beating the Reds and pacifying China seemed to go well together. Had Chiang Kai-shek been left alone, his genius would probably have saved his country.

38. In November, 1934 with a flourish of anti-communism, Japan invaded Manchuria and attacked Shanghai. Anti-Japanese sentiment rose to terrific heights in China. Now, the Communist strategy was to use this sentiment against Chiang Kai-shek. This entailed three principal aspects:

a) *To ride the wave of anti-Japanese feeling.* This, to the trained propagandists that Communists are, was child's play. Here is a paragraph from an address of the Chinese Communist party to the Kuomintang:

Cease at once all fratricidal war between Chinese and between detachments of Chinese troops! All together for a common answer to Japan, for the salvation of the country. All Chinese and Chinese soldiers, unite!

The Central Committee of the Chinese Communist party proposes: All parties, groups, troops, societies, mass organizations disposed to fight Japan must at once discuss the methods of common action against the foreign enemy. (July 25, 1936).

Shortly after, Georgi Dimitrov in the name of the Comintern urged the Chinese Communists to rally around Chiang Kai-shek. This maneuver was as clever as it was brazen. Implicitly, it laid the blame of Chinese division, not on the Communists, but on Chiang Kai-shek. It gave to the Communists the initiative of reconciliation. It placed them before the public as the champions of Chinese unity.

b) *To engage Chiang Kai-shek's troops against the Japanese, so as to relieve the pressure against the Red army.* This happened particularly on the occasion of the mysterious incident of Sian (December, 1936). Mao Tze-tung in April, 1936 attacked Shansi, where the Nankin troops were commanded by Chang Sue-liang, the son of the former Northern war lord Chan Tso-lin. Mao Tze-tung was so mysteriously successful that Chiang Kai-shek came to see what was the trouble. On December 12, the world was astounded to hear that Chiang Kai-shek had been arrested by his own general Chang Sue-liang. Then nobody knows exactly what sort of blackmail or face-saving took place, but negotiations were opened between Chiang Kai-shek and the Com-

munists. By the following spring (1937) the following agreement was concluded: Chiang Kai-shek promised an active war against Japan. The Red army ceased to exist independently and became the Chinese VIIIth. The Chinese Soviet Republic was suppressed; there was to be no more communist propaganda and no more class war.

The Central Committee of the Communist party of China accepted the agreement on May 1, 1937. Mao Tze-tung and Chu-te declared they were ready to sacrifice themselves and leave China until the Fatherland needed all its children. They gave a magnificent example of wordy disinterestedness. They had so tied up Chiang Kai-shek against the Japanese that he could no longer dream to extricate himself. They had moreover the patriotic merit of having pushed Chiang into what they claim to be his duty. They especially had their own hands free.

c) *To keep the Red army intact, so that it could badger Chiang Kai-shek from the rear, spread communism in the territory where it operated, gradually extend its sphere of influence under the cover of anti-Japanese action.* As a matter of fact, from 1937 on, the VIIIth Army retained its autonomy, dodged the Japanese war, openly disobeyed the Generalissimo's orders, carried on its own policy. Thus, Chiang Kai-shek had to fight on two fronts. He was heavily engaged against increasing Japanese pressure. Unless he was willing to surrender China to Mao Tze-tung, he had to keep a huge army to watch the Reds, while these shouted to the world and to China: Why does not Chiang Kai-shek use his troops against Japan instead of against his own Chinese brothers? Lenin's old slogans were masterfully applied: Transform imperialist war into civil war. Strive for the defeat of one's own country. The splendid smoke screen of deceitful patriotism that covered it all was the Stalin touch.

39. In June, 1941 Hitler invaded the USSR; in December, 1941 the Japanese sank the United States fleet at Pearl Harbor. Now, the following situation developed: The United States was at war with Japan, *and* with Germany. The USSR was at war with Germany *and not* with Japan. The United States in general, Washington in particular, became an operational center of the greatest importance to the USSR. The following tasks were of vital urgency:

a) *Direct all military aid to the USSR; keep it away from China.* This was obvious enough, because the USSR needed all the help it could get against Hitler. It was not interested in the American war against Japan. The weaker China became, the stronger would be the

Red army. Now, Soviet diplomacy won a total victory on this particular point. It wooed America so sweetly that all wondered at Soviet Russia's change of heart. All spoke of the Great Retreat. In exchange for the rugged honey, Soviet Russia received the most magnificent aid in the form of lend lease, though the United States later had to haggle bitterly so that at least the Soviet Government might have the decency to tell their citizenry about it. As to China, it received less than one-half of one per cent of the grand total of lend lease, i.e., \$153,584,000 out of a total of \$21,534,870,000 (as of June, 1944),—enough to keep an American or English division *during a week!*

b) *Separate China from the Western democracies.* In China itself, xenophobia was encouraged (though mildly when Americans were around). In the United States a vast campaign of vituperation was soon under way, and soon had Nationalist China—there already were two Chinas—covered with mud. The main themes of Red propaganda were: Why does not Chiang Kai-shek fight Japan, instead of fighting the Communists? Chinese Communists are far more decent than the Nationalist bandits anyhow. Graft, corruption, moral filth are rampant in Chiang Kai-shek's army. Chinese Communists are different from Moscow Bolsheviks, and the latter have turned a new leaf. The Comintern has been suppressed. The Chinese Reds threaten no American interests. All they want is to be allowed to fight Japan.

Thus, the blame for China's division, inefficiency and defeat was laid squarely on Chiang Kai-shek's mistrust of communism. The entire Allied diplomacy was brought to bear on forcing Chiang Kai-shek to collaborate with the Reds on Communist terms. As Chiang Kai-shek grew restive under such continuous pressure, he lost more and more the favor of Roosevelt and Churchill. The anti-Nationalist propaganda, in our countries, descended to abysmal depths, and reminded one of Churchill's vituperation of Poland when that unfortunate country did not unconditionally surrender to the Soviet. The knock-down blow to Nationalist China was administered by no less than Churchill in his speech of September 28, 1944, where he blamed Chiang Kai-shek for misusing the "lavish help" given by the United States.

In the Kremlin, Stalin must have really chuckled. The most authentic piece of party-line propaganda was blared out to the world by no less than anti-Communist number One! No wonder that at Teheran and Yalta Soviet Russia gained the keys to China. Now, a very important problem to solve (it does not interest us here) is why have the

people and Government of the United States been so thoroughly hoodwinked and outwitted? The many years of Soviet propaganda and silent burrowing finally yielded their harvest, and what a harvest!

c) *Concentrate all the efforts of the VIIIth (Red) Army against Chiang Kai-shek.* Until the USSR attacked Japan, that is to say, at the very end of the war, the VIIIth Army was not interested in anti-Japanese action, except insofar as it furthered its own propaganda or territorial extension. It swung into operation about the same time as the Soviet troops marched into Korea and Manchuria, in time to seize large tracts of territory, disarm the Japanese, keep the weapons and export the Japanese to Siberia for indoctrination or slow death and extend its communism to the newly acquired territories. Abandoned by everyone, decried by almost every newspaper and statesman in the United States, badgered at home by well-meaning advisers whose attitude would have been insulting had it not been idiotic, demoralized by very bitter resentment against the United States and England who, they felt, had sold them down the river to Soviet Russia, Nationalist China fell to pieces.

40. The curtain, an iron curtain, is falling on China! On the far eastern front, Uncle Sam fought the war, and Soviet Russia, with very little fighting of its own, gathered fantastic spoils.

3.

Catholic Missions in Red China

41. Unlike anarchism, Soviet communism, at least now, is not directly anti-God. It has dropped the violent approach of the "Union of Militant Godless." Its aim is to build a world from which God will be crowded out, simply because there is no room for Him. It is directly anti-God until the last shreds of intellectual independence have been properly hammered out, until the people have become docile and enthusiastic, until the Church has been duly integrated in the Communist machine. Then, it can stop bothering about God. To appreciate this properly, we would have to study the entire set-up of the Communist state, of the Communist way of life, of the absolute integration of all into totalism. This is the terrible reality of the

modern world, that God has been elbowed out of such huge territories, driven out of an infinity of consciences. This picture of a huge, Godless world, has not yet made its impact upon the majority of Christians and this is perhaps the chief reason why the challenge of communism is not properly met. Such a study would go far beyond the limits of the few pages yet at our disposal. Limiting ourselves to the Catholic missions of Red China, let us remember that they represent only a tiny portion of the huge Chinese reality, for Catholics number about four million out of China's 400,000,000 people.

42. The Catholic Church had never acquired so much prestige as during the last few years. The clergy had won the esteem, not only of the faithful, but of the people at large. Archbishop Yu-pin's name resounded far and wide as a source of inspiration to Chinese patriots. Father de Jacquinot's humanitarian work in Shanghai made the headlines of the world's press, but every mission compound, in a smaller way, had done pretty much the same. With the exception of a few isolated cases, the Japanese respected the non-enemy missionaries. Whilst those of Allied origin were herded into concentration camps and acquired the glory of having suffered for China, the others took care of the missions of their brothers and gave to the world a remarkable example of Christian fraternity. After Japan capitulated, Catholic schools opened their doors to a far greater number of students than ever before. The diplomatic relations established with the Vatican enhanced Chinese prestige among cultured nations. The sudden and dazzling creation of the Chinese hierarchy, with Cardinal Tien at the head of 20 archdioceses, 79 dioceses, 137 ecclesiastical divisions, thrilled the Christian world and deeply moved China's heart. The millions of humble Chinese felt themselves understood and loved by someone in the big, materialistic West. . . .

43. In spite of that, the missionary was still vulnerable to an insistent propaganda, and propaganda is something that Communists know! First, when all was said and done, in spite of the fact that Christians knew their Father—*shen-fu*—had become one of them, he still was a foreigner to the pagans, and that was almost enough for rampant xenophobia. The eternal conflict between denominations created unpleasantness and suspicion. Envy could be excited against the mission buildings: stone churches, beautiful schools, modern hospitals, neat dispensaries. Why should foreigners flaunt all that in the eyes of the Chinese proletariat, impoverished by almost half a century of civil war

and brigandage? The standard of life had hugely deteriorated since the turn of the century. The huge masses of pagan Chinese, who compared their clothes with those of the missionary, their misery with his wealth, so great that he could share it with others in almsgiving (even if it was pitiful enough according to American standards), the endless details that made up their way of living with what they saw or imagined to exist at the Mission, all that could be whipped into envy, and envy has always been the mother of communism.

44. In March, 1945 in the southern corner of the province of Hopeh, the second congress of the Communist party of China decreed that missionaries should not be killed nor driven out. They were to be bothered, annoyed, insulted, rendered helpless until life would become literally impossible for them. The chief motives to be harped on were: missionaries are foreign spies. They cooperated with the Japanese. They exploit the people and keep them from becoming "liberated." Hence, the missionaries must be frozen out. This seems to be the general policy.

45. There have been acts of cruelty, especially against the native Christians and clergy. Writing in *The China Weekly Review* (Shanghai, January 17, 1948) Father Francois Legrand describes the following episodes, described in two letters he had received shortly before:

"The latest cruelties have been in Shanwantse. There, three catechists, Chang Yun-shih, Li Chin-kui, Tsao, together with Sister Yu, and Sister Chang (the latter a daughter of the aforementioned Chang Yung-shih) and two other unnamed Christians were subject to indignities at the hands of the Communists in an effort to make them apostatize. They refused absolutely. Then, they were forced to sit on the ground, and drawing up their knees, their hands were bound in front of their knees. A stick was then placed under the knees, but over the arms, leaving them huddled with their chins against their knees. A rope was then attached to each of them and to the harness of a mule. The mules were whipped into a gallop, dragging their victims over the stony ground until all seven were dead."

The second letter tells of events in the Ch'infeng Catholic mission and again I quote: "Father Shih was stripped to the waist, and being bound hand and foot was thrown to the ground; with a man sitting on his prone body, he was dragged through the streets, then through the sharp stubble of a sorghum field and finally shot.

"In another village Father Chang was dragged in a similar manner and shot. The Communists also tried to force Sister Wang,

Sister Chao and Sister Kao to renounce their Faith, which the Reds called 'The American religion' and ordered them to marry. When they refused they too were dragged the same way."

The first letter was dated December 15, the other December 21, 1947.

46. Other incidents have been reported and different devices for torture have been recorded. Throughout Red China, seminarians and virgins are brutally compelled to marry. Rumors of people buried alive by the Reds have been disturbingly frequent and coming from various quarters. In general, the native population is having great difficulty in keeping contact with foreign missionaries.

47. When Communist groups or armies pass through a district, they "borrow" whatever they think they can use or burn: doors, windows, church pews, and so forth serve as fuel. Watches, bicycles tempt Chinese Communists as much as Bolshevik soldiers. After two or three such visits, the missionary literally camps in nothingness and writes cheerful letters home about Holy Poverty. He probably also mentions how, when last visiting his district, people took pot-shots at him, missed him, and how he thanked his guardian angel.

48. Once a district is permanently "liberated," the mission buildings are seized, as headquarters for the military, city-government, police-station, jail, etc. The church may be used as dormitory, lecture hall for Communist propaganda, etc. To add insult to injury, posters are attached to the wall: *Equality, Freedom of religion!* This confiscation entails many advantages to the Red regime: buildings are acquired; religious work is effectively stopped. The missionary is not only kept under constant vigilance; he is forced to cohabitate with the officials established in his own house (and they have been chosen with care) and he will be so continually and completely annoyed that he may soon suffer a nervous breakdown. Fortunate indeed is he, if he managed for himself, in prevision of this, a little corner where he may have some privacy.

49. Then data is gathered for the purpose of organizing a popular judgment (tou-sheng). Two things are particularly looked into: cooperation with the Japanese and property rights. It will not be hard to frame a charge of collaboration against missionaries of German, Italian, Spanish, or Hungarian origin. They were left alone by the Japanese! The French, Belgian, and other missionaries are persecuted for having owned too much property. They kept it away from the proletariat! Therefore they must return it. Christians are forced to

cooperate in the legal plunder of the mission; if they refuse to do so, they may be submitted to pressure that may go as far as torture or death.

50. Now the missionaries, being foreigners, cannot own property, for persons without Chinese citizenship are ineligible to property rights. Persons without property rights must have a number of mission members (Chinese) to vouch for them and put a notice to that effect in the newspapers before property can be entrusted to them. This, at any rate, seems to be the present legislation as it was explained to Kenneth Wood (*China Weekly Review*, January 3, 1948). Be that as it may, one thing is certain, the first persons to be arrested, on the liberation of a district, are the Bishop and the more influential priests.

51. We may take as an instance of "popular judgment" what happened at the mission of Sienhsien. It was an important center, including several schools, training establishment for four communities, dispensary for the poor, Bishop's residence, etc. There had already been a good deal of looting when real trouble flared up on December 13, 1945. During three successive days, a mob of some 2,000 persons came to present their claims, village by village—about twenty villages were represented by their delegates. These were the general complaints:

a) Unpaid taxes—there were some 27 different taxes.

b) Misdeeds committed by the French soldiers after the Boxers' rebellion (1900). For instance, the French soldiers requisitioned 4,500 pounds of firewood. The people had to cut down 60 pear trees to deliver the wood. Now, a pear tree gives an average of 100 pounds of pears per year, and a pound of pears costs 20 penk'iu (Red dollars). Forty-five years of harvest have been lost. That item alone brings $60 \times 100 \times 45 \times 20 = \$(\text{penk'iu}) 5,400,000$. If now you figure the compound interest corresponding to each one of the forty-five years, the claim will become far more complicated. Someone also remembered the sow, requisitioned by the same French soldiers in 1900, and started calculating the successive litters that could have been born of that sow and each generation of pigs that would have followed. That, and the right rate of compound interest for each litter, if it was slaughtered at once, or used for reproduction, made the one sow worth many hundred thousand dollars.

52. Now, the first day of popular judgment brought up the claim to \$132,946,630. The following three days had it to \$609,000,000, but the responsible head of the operation was embittered because he wanted it to run up to twelve digits. So the peasants went home,

sharpened their pencils and did some real complicated figuring. The next day, they wanted \$253,000,000,000. Then they could afford to be merciful; so they cut down the mission's debt to only \$63,000,000,000 which was the equivalent of five million tons of grain. Huge assemblies shouted down the protesting missionaries, urged payment, looted all they could. Then, after various interventions, some sort of compromise was reached. Completely propertyless and incapable of doing anything, the missionaries could stay, if they liked, wherever they could!

53. It is not easy for the missionary to keep out of jail. If he is left in a stripped corner of his desolate mission, he must thank the mercy of those who did not urge their claim to the full, and wait until he trips up on another law. . . .

54. An effective way to stop the contact of missionary and faithful is the internal passport. This is the current way to control the movement of the people in the USSR. In China it was extremely severe in war regions to stop people from running away on the eve of being liberated. In the rest of the country the practise is not yet uniform.

55. The control of circulation is entrusted to boys, who are quite proud of the power they exercise over adults. They know everyone in the village and recognize at once the transient or foreigner. These young people are becoming a familiar landmark, circulating naked during the hot months, except for the little wooden sword which is their sign of authority. When they suspect someone, they bring him to the local magistrate. If the traveler cannot explain satisfactorily why he is on the road, he is locked up. These boys are grouped in organizations that keep them alert; they have daily meetings for boys and girls together, that go on till midnight.

56. The internal passport must be applied for *toties quoties*, and the reason for each trip must be given. It is never delivered for the purpose of going to see the missionary, for this is not sufficient reason for travel, the missionary being presumably a foreign spy. Nor can the missionary circulate, for he is recognized at once.

57. The missionaries have remained generally. Their presence alone comforts the fervent. Those Christians who are gradually breaking under the pressure fear retaliation from Communists, are frightened out of their wits if, at night, a priest comes illegally into their homes. It is the consensus of opinion of missionaries at least, in certain regions, that once the Red regime has been firmly established in a given area, all apostolic labor becomes entirely impossible: *In*

regione communistarum labor qualiscumque apostolicus omnino impossibilis videtur. Vix ulla christianitas audet accipere missionarios. Many of the faithful are heroic. They daily gather to say the rosary, they fast that their priests may return. Some native priests have shown real genius in organizing themselves and their faithful for the awful storm.⁶

58. There is nothing more pathetic than the deliberations of missionaries as to whether they should depart or no! Desertion is frightful. The good shepherd gives his life for his flock. On the other hand, it is impossible for the missionary to do anything except in hiding, but this can be managed only for a very short time. The faithful will be so persecuted on account of his presence that they may be turned on that account against religion. The practise seems to be that missionaries stay on the spot until they are arrested, killed accidentally or otherwise, or until they break down or die. Then no one is sent to take their place. The district is left to the native clergy who will do whatever it can under the circumstances, this time facing the risk of torture and violent death almost constantly. The outlook for Catholic missions in China is very, very dark. It seems difficult not to inculcate for this sad state of affairs the lack of foresight that prevailed in the United States, among officials, during the war. Here again, politics may have betrayed humanity.

59. The following statistics have been received at the National Office of The Society for the Propagation of the Faith as of early 1949:

Total number in China of:

- A. Bishops 139; including 26 Native, 15 American, 98 other nationalities.
- B. Priests 5,161; including 2,527 Native, 179 American, and 2,455 other nationalities.
- C. Brothers 1,039; including 682 Native, 5 American, and 352 other nationalities.
- D. Sisters 6,446; including 4,600 Native, 135 American, and 1,711 other nationalities.

Number killed or died from ill treatment to May 1948:

- A. Priests 58; including 39 Native, no American, and 19 other nationalities.
- B. Brothers 16; including 15 Native, no American, and 1 other nationality.

6. This, at any rate, was the situation in the regions held by the Communists for some time. In the recently acquired territories, open persecution has not been generally reported.

C. Sisters 13; all Native.

Now in occupied territory:

A. Bishops 38; including 11 Native, one American at Suchow and 26 other nationalities. (The *Annuario* says that Philip Cote, S.J., born in Lawrence, Massachusetts, 1895—has been bishop there from April 11, 1946.)

B. Priests 2,099; including 1,175 Native, 4 American, and 920 other nationalities.

C. Brothers 135; including 95 Native, no American, and 40 other nationalities.

D. Sisters 2,195; including 1,650 Native, 15 American, and 530 other nationalities.

60. On June 15, 1949, Mao Tze-tung spoke before the Preparatory Committee for the Convocation of the Political Consultative Chamber. He hailed the triumph of the "Army of Liberation." In three years it had destroyed opposing armies numbering 5,590,000 men. This, he said, was a victory of the Chinese people "and of the peoples of the whole world" for the whole world "with the exception of imperialists and reactionaries of various countries, hailed with jubilation this victory of the Chinese people." Thus, these formidable events are but a stepping stone towards the Soviet liberation of the world. "A new sun has risen in the East," concluded the Red General! "It is the new China, and it brings light to the entire East."

The only question worth putting and answering seems to be: Now, what country or continent next?

Collateral Reading

FIDES—*News Bulletin of Agenzia Fides.*

GITLOW, BEN, *The Whole of Their Lives*, 1948.

HEDIN, SVEN, *Chiang Kai-shek, Marshal of China*. Translated into English.

ISAACS, HAROLD R., *No Peace for Asia*, 1947.

LATTIMORE, OWEN, *Solution in Asia*, 1945. *The Situation in Asia*, 1949.

LIN YU TANG, *My Country, My People*.

VALTIN, JAN, *Out of the Night*.

These books are not endorsed, when submitted for collateral reading; rather, the critical sense of the student is expected to be sharpened through comparison of the information contained in our pamphlet, to that given by the above books.

Study Outline

GERALD C. TREACY, S.J.

Communism prospered in Mission lands because it claimed to lead the fight against imperialism. The colonial or semi-colonial peoples who were restless under foreign political or economic domination, welcomed the Communist who was eager to fight their battles. They hoped to be able to dismiss the Communists after having used them.

The Communist is not directly interested in emancipating colonies. He wishes to break down the Capitalistic system as such. So he allies himself with the small bourgeoisie of colonial countries in order to conquer the bigger enemy, foreign imperialism.

The more effectively Communism helps colonial peoples against their foreign exploiters the greater becomes its mass appeal. It appeals not only to colonial peoples but to liberals everywhere.

Missions are established in colonies or semi-colonies. The missionary must identify himself with the people, becoming Chinese with the Chinese, African with the Africans. If he enters into the political grievances of the natives, he will be expelled by the colonial authorities as a fomentor of disorder. So he collaborates with the foreigner.

Nor can he champion the economic grievances of the natives in semi-colonies without offending the financial interests that exploit them. Missioners have to be careful in handling the social message of the Church, for fear of placing their missions in jeopardy.

So it has happened that the social and political leadership of the dissatisfied peoples has fallen into the hands of the underground conspirator. The Communist is often in the role of the defender of the oppressed. He denounces the abuses of the colonial system and in his home country will be praised for his courage. The same people who praise him would denounce the missionary who acted in the same way.

Anti-imperialism is at the core of Communism insofar as it is opposed to international Socialism. In Communist world-strategy labor organizations, strikes, riots are a means to a bigger end than any local interest, namely the overthrow of organized government, and the

establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat throughout the world. Today this means Russian hegemony.

While labor troubles disrupt capitalistic economy at home, colonial unrest strikes at the source of raw materials, disorganizes markets and brings large territories under Communist control. Capitalist countries are gradually isolated. So Communism marches on.

Questions

How is the spread of Communism in mission lands to be explained?

What do Communists mean by a colony and a semi-colony?

State the five characteristic of imperialism according to Lenin.

Is the Communist directly interested in emancipating colonies?

What is his object in helping colonial peoples?

May the missionary enter into the political and economic grievances of the native population?

Who holds the social and political leadership in semi-colonial countries?

Is anti-imperialism a side-issue with the Communists?

What does Communist world-strategy aim at?

What is the origin of the Third International?

How did Bolshevism differ from Menshevism?

What did Lenin mean by the *krach* of Socialism?

War time is harvest time for Communism. Explain.

What was Lenin's overall plan?

What was his attitude toward religion and the Catholic Church?

How strong has been resistance to world Communism?

After grasping the principles underlying Soviet strategy the tactical variations scarcely need an explanation. Explain.

Describe the Communist schools and universities.

What have the recent Communist trials in the United States and Canada shown us?

What chance is there that Chinese Communism will follow Tito?

What may be the fate of Mao Tse-tung?

How did Communist strategy use anti-Japanese sentiment in 1934?

Why did the Komintern urge the Chinese Communists to rally around Chiang Kai-Chek?

How did the Chinese Communists out-maneuver Chiang Kai-Chek?

What was Russia's plan once the United States went to war?

How did Chiang Kai-Chek lose the favor of Roosevelt and Churchill?

Why did Nationalist China collapse?

At present Soviet Communism is not anti-God. Explain.

What kind of world does it hope to build?

What is the terrible reality of the modern world?

What is the chief reason why the challenge of Communism is not properly met?

What did the second congress of the Chinese Communist party decree about missionaries in 1945?

How did Communist propaganda work against the missionaries?

How do the Chinese Reds treat mission property?

How was popular judgment carried out in the Mission of Sienhsien?

What is the internal passport and how is it used against the missionary?

What is the outlook for Catholic missions in China?

Where can the latest statistics be found on the Church in China?

A Note on the Author

The Rev. Joseph H. Ledit, S.J., was born at Ste. Suzanne, France, February 14, 1898.

Studies: College, Baume les Dames, France, until 1909. From 1909-1914, Eremo di Lanzo, Torinese, Italy. Entered the Society of Jesus August 11, 1914 at Manresa House, Roehampton, England. Continued his novitiate at Los Gatos, California; classical studies were made at the same place from 1916-18. Philosophy at Mount St. Michaels, Spokane, Washington, 1918-21, and Theology at Ona, Spain, 1921-24, Valkenburg, Holland, 1924-25. Was ordained to the priesthood July 29, 1924. Post graduate studies: Biblical Institute, 1925-26; Oriental Institute, 1927-29. Doctorate of the Institute, 1929.

Tertianship: Belgium, 1927.

Professor at Oriental Institute, Rome, 1929-39; Director: *Roman Letters on Modern Atheism*, 1935-39.

Writings: In Europe collaborated on *Orientalia Christiana* (Review of Pontifical Oriental Institute), and on *Dictionnaire de Theologie Catholique*. Wrote articles for *America* and *Thought*; is regular contributor to *Relations* (Canada) and several other publications. Is author of the following books: *La Croix Paienne, Politique et Education*, and *La filosofia y los mitos modernos*, and two books on Our Lady. Also did many 16 and 32-page pamphlets on social questions.

Lectured in Europe (besides Rome) at the Catholic University of Milano, Royal University of Pisa, Oriental Institute of Naples, at Congresses of Christ the King at Poznan and Liubliana, as well as in many cities of the United States, Canada and Mexico.

Present occupation is that of professor at scholasticate, University of Montreal, Laval University of Quebec, and Thomas More Institute of Montreal. Is member of the editorial staff of *Relations*.

The authors of the various studies of the Missionary Academia express their own views, which are necessarily independent of the National Council of The Society for the Propagation of the Faith.

—ACADEMIA STUDIES—

The Missionary Academia is a course of mission studies for all major seminaries in the United States organized and conducted by The Society for the Propagation of the Faith and The Missionary Union of the Clergy. The Academia has published six volumes, each containing eight studies.

VOLUME 5. 1947-1948

1. The Protestant Missionary Movement, by Mr. Fulton Oursler
2. Modern Indian and Eskimo Missions in North America, by Rev. George M. Waggett, O.M.I.
3. A Native Clergy for Mission Countries, by Rev. Peter Weyland, S.V.D. and Rev. Ambrosio Manaligod, S.V.D.
4. Modern Missions in South America, by Rev. Stephen McKenna, C.S.S.R.
5. Rome and the Eastern Churches, by Rev. Andrew Rogosh
6. Modern Missions in Middle America, by Very Rev. Raphael M. Huber, O.F.M. Conv.
7. Hinduism, by Mr. Stephen W. Johnson, A.B. and Rev. Joseph J. Tennant, S.T.D., S.S.L.
8. The Liturgy and the Missions

VOLUME 6. 1948-1949

1. The Church in the Smaller Asiatic Lands, by Rev. Gerard Marinan, S.S.C.
2. Missions of the Later Middle Ages, by Rev. Marian A. Habig, O.F.M.
3. How the Church Conducts its World Missions, by Very Rev. Frederick C. Dietz, M.M.
4. The Apostolate to the Jews, by Rev. John M. Oesterreicher
5. Medical Missions, by Rev. Pierre Charles, S.J.
6. The Church in the Northern Countries, by Hans Bang
7. French Missions in North America, by Rev. Leo E. Ruskowski, S.S.
8. Buddhism, (*To be published in conjunction with the Studies for 1949-1950*)

CURRENT STUDIES—VOLUME 7. 1949-1950

1. The Conversion of Non-Catholics in the United States, by Rev. John T. McGinn, C.S.P. *Published September*
2. The Church in the Balkans, by Rev. Joseph H. Ledit, S.J. *Published October*
3. Catholic Missions in the Belgian Congo, by Rev. Albert Nobels, I.H.M. *Published November*
4. The Unity Movement in Protestantism, by Rev. Edward L. Murphy, S.J. *Published December*
5. The Church in Korea in Modern Times, by Rev. Owen MacPolin. *Published January*
6. Present Religions in Tibet and Neighboring Countries, by Rev. Sylvester Siber, S.V.D. *Published February*
7. Communism and World Missions, by Rev. Joseph H. Ledit, S.J. *Published March*
8. Modern Indians of South America, by Rev. Francis X. Lyons, M.M.